1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.